2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Those born on Saturday have T, Ht, D, Dh, and N. The aspirated and unaspirated letters have to most Englishmen precisely the same sound, though a practised ear detects the difference immediately. Examples are:—Maung Ba Tu, Mr. Like His Father; Ma Ne Htun, Miss or Mrs. Sunshine; Maung Du Wun, Mr. Pole Star; Mi Nu, Miss Tender.

Those born on Thursday select from P, Hp, B, Hb, and M. For example:—U Po Mya, Old Grandfather Emerald; Maung Bo Gale, Mr. Little Officer; Ma Hmwe, Miss or Mrs. Fragrant; Mi Meit, Miss Affection.

Wednesday has L and W. Examples:—Maung Ho, Mr. Yonder; Ma Waing Hla, Miss or Mrs. All-Round Pretty; Ma Hein, Miss or Mrs. Growler.

From noon till midnight on Wednesday is represented as a special day, or, at any rate, under a special constellation called Yahu, and those born between those hours have the alternative of the two Y's, one of which is sounded R in Pali and by the Arakanese. Examples are:—Maung Yo, Mr. Honesty; Ma Yôn, Miss or Mrs. Rabbit, U Yauk, Old Individual. [194] [184]

Friday has Th and H. Examples:—Maung Than, Mr. Million; Maung Thet She, Mr. Long Life; Ma Thin, Miss or Mrs. Learned; Mè Thaw, (old) Mrs. Noisy.

A is the only letter assigned to Sunday, but the combination with it of the symbol of any other vowel changes it to the sound of that vowel. For example:—Maung Ôn, Mr. Cocoa-nut; Maung At Ni, Mr. Red Needle; Ma E, Miss Cold; Ma Eing Saung, Mrs. Housekeeper; U O, Old Pot.

A common popular belief is, that, according to the day of the week (or rather the constellation representing that day) on which a man is born, so will his character be. Thus a man's name discloses his probable characteristics to the superstitious. 828 551 787

A man born on Monday will be jealous; on Tuesday, honest; on Wednesday, short-tempered, but soon calm again, the characteristic being intensified under Yahu; on Thursday, mild; on Friday, talkative; on Saturday, hot-tempered and quarrelsome; on Sunday, parsimonious.

Not only has every day its special character and its fixed

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Taninla kya
Ta-sè nga
Ne nya
She yat ga.

Monday's number, I ween,
Is always fifteen;
The tiger's the beast,
And its place is the East.

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There are various ways of calculating the horoscope, most of them not to be understanded of the people, but the most popular, because the preliminaries are evident to everybody, is from the numbers given above. A person born on Monday remains under the influence of the moon for fifteen years. Then he passes into the house of Mars and sojourns there for eight years. At the age of twenty-three, Mercury presides over him and continues to do so for the next seventeen years, and so on to the end, which mounts up to 108 years. Should he outlive that he would begin the circle over again. Another way is to divide the inquirer's age by eight. If there is no remainder, the horoscope is made up from the gyo under which he was born. If there is a remainder, the Bedin Sayā counts it out round the figure, in the direction of the hands of a watch, commencing with the birth planet. Thus a man born on Thursday, now twenty-nine years of age, would be under the influence of the moon. The gyo at the four cardinal points, east, south, west, and north are happy in their influences, those on the diagonal rhumbs not so good. Yahu, and especially Saturday, have a particularly sinister influence. A man does most of the stupid and vicious things in his life while he is in Saturn's house. A young man born on Wednesday will need a lot of ballast to tide him through the ten years of Saturn, seeing that he enters on the danger at the age of seventeen.

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Little gilded and red painted signboards are put up at all the pagodas, displaying the nan, the symbol, and the relative position of all the planets. Sometimes people worshipping at the pagoda go to the point of the gyo, in whose house they were born, and offer up their lauds and candles there. But this is a mere matter of individual fancy, and is hardly open to those born in the diagonally situated

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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584 abilities, contrives a series of unexpected meetings, and does everything, in fact, to further the project. There are regular practitioners in the business, and others who dabble in it for want of something to do and from sheer love of scheming.

Courting, whether authorised by the parents or not, is very seldom carried on in daylight. So much is this the case that the phrase Lu-byo hlè thi achein, "Courting time," is commonly used in ordinary conversation to designate nine o'clock at night, or a little before or after. The time may be due to the fact that occupation, or the heat, prevent it during the day, but there is an old saw which may account for it, to the effect that in the morning women are cross [828] and peevish; in the middle of the day they are testy and [562] quarrelsome; but at night they are sweet and amiable. Authorised courtship, if the term is not too unromantic, is always carried on at this time, and preparations for it are duly made by the girls. A couple of hours after nightfall the lover, with a friend or two, makes his appearance near the house and dawdles up and down till he finds the old people have gone to bed, or retired from the scene. Then he goes up the steps along with his supporters and finds the girl alone, or with a companion or two, dressed in her best, with flowers in her hair, powder on her cheeks and neck, and generally prepared for conquest. The old people are never present, though they can hear everything, and the mother, as I am credibly informed, pauk-kyi thi, has a convenient chink in the bamboo walls through which she can survey operations and prevent too ardent love-making. Interviews vary in length, and the nature of the conversation may be best left to the imagination. If one of the accompanying young men has also an appointment that evening he naturally endeavours to curtail his friend's philandering as much as possible, in order that he himself may have the more time in another place to press his suit. Even in clandestine flirtations the courting is always effected in a formal way like this. Meetings in lover's loans, or *à quatre yeux*, would ruin a girl's character immediately. Her own mother would be the first to put the worst construction on such doings.

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Burman is always very kind to his wife, while every girl is taught from her earliest years to look with the highest respect upon man as man, and to defer in all things to his judgment, though she is far more free than the Indian wife. The Burman consults with his partner in all his affairs, public and private, and often is entirely guided by her. She keeps the shop that is to be found in almost every house in the country towns, and usually makes far more money than the goodman himself. It is a simple matter to blame the Burmese for easy marriage customs, but the system speedily puts an end to unhappy and ill-assorted unions, and illegitimate children are exceedingly rare. Finally, unless there is good known cause for a separation the divorced parties are not by any means looked upon with a favourable eye. The man who enters a monastery to get rid of a wife goes by the contemptuous name of taw-twet "jungle runaway," for the rest of his life, while the ta-ku-lat, the *divorcée*, is a perennial subject of joke to the jester in the play:—

> She that's neither maid, married, nor widow,
> Fits all men as a pot does it's lid, O.

That is to say, a divorced woman needs small wooing. Such a woman will not hesitate to cut off the bya-bazan, the lappets of hair that fall down over the ears, the last resource of the despairing and unwilling celibate.

The literature of marriage is not inconsiderable. The tattooing ceremonies, a-nu se, love-philtres, charms, and what not, are referred to elsewhere. There remain a number of singular matters to be taken note of by those who would be happy in married life. Thus the girls are told how they may ascertain a man's character by the colour of his heart's blood—though how they are to ascertain this colour without injury to the subject of inquiry is not mentioned. A lustful man's blood is dark red; a cross, quarrelsome man's is so dark as almost to be black; a lazy man's like elephant's water; a rough-speaking man's like boiled peas: a charitable man's like the flower of the mahā hlegā, a species of bauhinia; while a learned man's heart's blood is beautiful as the ruby.

Similarly useless knowledge is the statement that an

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828 ignorant man's heart is all in one mass, while that of the well-instructed divides itself into three small parts.

885 779 581 As models of married women are held up the Taw le-wa, the most faithful and beautiful of wives, the consorts of four of the chief princes in the ten great Jatakas, treating of the last births of the Lord Buddha. To say that a girl is Taw le-wa win lauk, calculated to become like one of these four great queens, Amaya the wife of Mahawthata, the Solomon of Buddhist kings; Madi, the wife of Wethandaya, world-famed for his charity; Keinnayi or Thanbula, the partners of princes hardly less celebrated, is to pay the highest possible compliment to any woman. But these are somewhat vague and intangible matters. There are other recommendations which appeal much more directly to those intending to get married; to the man that seeks a wife, sanshwe, pure as "test gold"; or the girl who would avoid a linkwe, a "cur of a husband."

581 787 Prominent among these is the rhyme of "the hostile pairs," the yan-hpet, who, if they marry, will certainly have a short life.

Some violence is done to the niceties of language in the linga, so that I may be allowed the same in the translation of a portion of it.

Friday's daughter
Didn't oughter
Marry with a Monday's son;
Should she do it
Both will rue it,
Life's last lap will soon be run.

The same lamentable result would follow if the man were born on Friday and the woman on Monday. Again:

Saturdays and Thursdays,
The serpent and the rat,
You cannot find out worse days,
Life's short enough at that.

The serpent and the rat preside over Saturday and Thursday respectively. Similar curtailment of life would follow if the union was between Sunday and Wednesday, or between Tuesday and the eighth half-day Yahu. One or

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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263 strongly-flavoured nga-pi, without which no Burman would consider his meal complete. Sometimes the big, fierce-stinging kā-gyin, a species of red ant, is used along with this fish paste, sometimes it is fried in oil by itself. As may be imagined, they have an acid and decidedly pungent flavour about them. Roasted turtle's and iguana's eggs, [828] dried fish, and fried ginger are gourmand's adjuncts. There is a particular objection to the smell of cookery, and when anything is fried in oil, or prepared so as to produce a strong savour, it is always done to leeward of the house, and where the fumes may not reach any other dwelling. Such smells 264 are believed to be very productive of fever. Nothing is ever 271 drunk at meals, but each one, when he has finished, goes to 273 the earthenware jar full of water which stands in a corner of the verandah, and rinses out his mouth. It is a lamentable fact that many Burmans in the low country now drink beer and spirits, but this is never done at meals nor in the house, where, indeed, the wife would not allow it. It is deplorable, because it is drinking for the sake of drinking, and is never done in moderation. The tippling Burman goes to the "toddy-shop" for his liquor, and he does not know when to stop. Brandy of the fiery description known to the British soldier as "fixed bayonets," or "chain-shot," is often drunk, but the usual tipple is "Old Tom." A particularly heady mixture of this with cheap beer is affected by confirmed [183] topers. It is contrary to the national religion, and it does not suit the national temperament.

276 After meals every one smokes—men, women, and children. Facetious people have declared that Burman babies blow a cloud while they are still at the breast. This is inaccurate. They never indulge till they are able to walk without needing the assistance of their hands, but their mothers give them whiffs long before that. The ordinary Burman cheroot is very mild and has really very little tobacco in it. The full-flavoured article to be seen occasionally in London shops is manufactured entirely for English residents. The se paw-leip, the cigar for home consumption, commonly known as the green cheroot, is very large, from six to eight inches long and about an inch in diameter at one end, tapering to slightly less at the other.

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CHAPTER XL

THE BUTTERFLY SPIRIT

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IT is a matter of common knowledge that Buddhists deny the existence of a soul or spiritual principle in man. Each new being, spiritual nature as well as bodily substance, is the product of what has gone before, and differs entirely from the previous being. That faculty which performs all the actions referred by other religions to the soul is by the Buddhist system placed in a sixth sense called manaw, the heart, or faculty of knowing. This sense is as material in its action as any of the others which are denominated seeing, hearing, tasting, and so on. The manaw is, it is true, the most important of all the senses. The eyes, the ears, all the others, are merely channels to communicate impressions to the purely intellectual faculty of knowing; but it is not a separate something, distinct in composition and existence from the material body. The quality and keenness of perception of the manaw is a matter of serious importance to its owner; for it is only by meditation that a man can attain to the higher heavens, and the act of meditating can only be conducted by the sixth sense. The observance of the precepts and the performance of good actions meet with abundant reward in happy births on earth or in the six heavens of the nat-dewas; but the inward good deeds of the soul are incomparably more meritorious, and therefore the pondering on the lawki seit, the ideas of creatures yet under the influence of the passions, and on the lawkotara seit, which are the ideas of those happy beings who have entered into the current of perfection and move about in the regions of pure spiritualism—the consideration of these and

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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of the seitathit, or results immediately connected with ideas, throughout all the five stages of meditation up to upekka, lead to rewards in the twenty superior heavens, where the contemplative gradually frees himself from the thanya, or false persuasions, and acquires a contempt for matter.

All this action has its place in the manaw, or the seat of knowledge, and is duly explained to the Burman when he is in the monastery school, and afterwards, perhaps, in discourses of the Yahans in the rest-houses on feast-days, or other suitable occasions. Unfortunately, however, the matter is, to say the least, a little obscure, and not by any means easily to be grasped. Accordingly, the superstitious Burman having got a confused lot of big words into his head, after letting them simmer there for a while, evolved from his internal consciousness the notion of the leip-bya, or butterfly spirit.

This personation of the soul in a fairy-like form had natural elements of attractiveness in it; and the consequence is that the error of the unphilosophical Burman long ago has grown into a present national belief, and it is universally accepted that the life of man resides in the leip-bya and dies when it disappears. The man at the point of death opens his mouth and the butterfly escapes from the body, but only to die at the same time. Many strange things are explained by this doctrine. For example, the leip-bya is the cause of dreams. It is not absolutely necessary that the butterfly should remain constantly in the body; death will not necessarily ensue from the separation. When the man is asleep, therefore, it leaves the body and roams about far and wide. But in these wanderings it can only go to such places as a person to whom it belongs has previously been in. A straying from known paths would cause extreme danger to the sleeping body, for it might happen that the butterfly would lose its way and never return, and then both would die—the body because the animating principle was gone, the leip-bya because it had no earthly tenement to live in. The butterfly is enabled to perform these journeys through its existence as thwe seit, or soul of the blood; and it is the state of this blood which makes the leip-bya more or less inclined to roam, and directs its movements. If the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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774 827 blood is feverish or excited in any way, the butterfly necessarily becomes restless, and wanders about more or less rapidly and into more or less strange places, according to the degree of perturbation. Therefore it happens that the soul thus existing in itself, and straying or flying at random, sees extremely strange and fantastic visions on these voyages. An elaboration of this notion divides dreams into three special varieties: those which occur at the beginning of sleep, those about midnight, and those in the early morning; or the false, the mixed, and the true. Bedin-sayās and wise women are for this reason always very particular in their inquiries as to the precise time at which the dream occurred. If they foretell wrongly it is, of course, because the questionist made a mistake as to the time when his vision appeared to him.

774 776 These night wanderings of the butterfly spirit are not without their dangers. In addition to other hobgoblins and spectres, Burma is especially plagued by evil spirits called bilus—creatures in human guise who devour men. If they will eat the corporate man, there is small doubt what will happen to the fragile butterfly spirit should it come across such an ogre. Cases do happen when the leip-bya is gulped down, and then the man has slept his last sleep. More often, however, it is only a case of leip-bya lan; the soul is scared, and in its terror sometimes runs into unknown regions, from which it is unable to retrace its steps, when of course it dies and with it the owner; or it rushes home to its bodily dwelling-place with such precipitation that the whole system is disorganised and sickness follows. This butterfly theory, therefore, offers a grand field for quack doctors, of whom there are unfortunately a very large number in Burma. When a man falls ill they dose him with all the drugs and simples they have in their little bamboo phials. If he does not get better after taking even the fungus from the roots of the bamboo, culled in the eclipse, or vegetable soot prepared at the change of the moon, then there can be only one opinion; the leip-bya has had its system shaken by some ghoulish sight; or perhaps it is being kept in durance vile by some tasé, some demon (in the sense of the Greek δαίμων), or by a sôn, a wizard. In this case no bodily medicine can be of any use, were it even that celebrated

753 757

606 Since the son-in-law has the social status of a son in his wife's family, he has the right to expect his father-in-law to sponsor his career, even more than he expects this of his own father.

A daughter-in-law is expected to regard and treat her husband's father very much as her own father.

603 Grandparent and Grandchild. Because of the great difference in age between these generations, great respect is theoretically due grandparents. In practice, this may be flouted and great indulgence shown to grandchildren. Grandparents quite frequently help in rearing their grandchildren, tell them stories and teach them the Buddhist precepts.

The Life Cycle of the Individual

843 Birth and Infancy. When a woman is pregnant her dreams are considered
● 838 to be especially significant. She is expected to remember those dreams that concern what her child will be like. The welfare of the child is forecast by some dreams. A dream of only one of things that normally come in pairs, such as earrings, bodes ill, possibly death, of the child in infancy. If the woman dreams of her viscera coming out it is indicative of a great future for the child. Persistent dreams of a particular deceased individual are indicative that the child will represent his reincarnation. In all forebodings of ill the normal counter-measure is to consult a Buddhist monk or an astrologer, who may give the woman an inscribed prayer (mantra) to keep or some amulet for the child to wear as protection.

843 Although village women need not avoid any specific foods during pregnancy, strong spices are regarded as harmful.

No supernatural means are employed to influence the sex of the prospective offspring. Certain signs are considered prognosticative. If the pregnant woman's stomach appears pointed, a boy will be born; a flat, broad stomach indicates that a girl is in prospect.

Pregnancy is considered a time of great happiness; the woman is greatly indulged and pampered by all concerned.

844 When the time for delivery approaches, any other pregnant women in the household must depart, lest their presence impede labor. Normally the woman's mother, grandmother, or aunt, in addition to a midwife, assists at birth. A fire is prepared in the room in which delivery is to take place and is maintained for ten days.

844 As soon as delivery has occurred, the umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo
846 knife. The afterbirth is wrapped in the mother's skirt and is buried at once in the cardinal direction associated with the day of the week of the baby's birth. The mother is fed an infusion of turmeric, and turmeric paste is rubbed all over her body. She is kept close to the fire and made very warm. For three days she is carefully watched to prevent her from sleeping heavily during daylight hours.

846 The mother is treated as a delicate invalid for about one month and, in some cases, for as long as three months. She is fed only white rice and dried fish. A soup of garlic and banana stems is drunk to promote the flow

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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There was one point that puzzled me for a time
775 in some of these stories of transmigration, such as the one I told about the man and wife being reborn twins. It was this: A man dies and leaves behind children, let us say, to whom he is devoutly attached. He is reborn in another family in the same village, maybe. It would be natural to suppose that he would love his former family as much as, or even more so than his new one. Complications might arise in this way which it is easy to conceive would cause great and frequent difficulties.

775 I explained this to a Burman one day, and asked
828 him what happened, and this is what he said: 'The affection of mother to son, of husband to wife, of brother to sister, belongs entirely to the body in which you may happen to be living. When it dies, so do these affections. New affections arise from the new body. The flesh of the son, being of one with his father, of course loves him; but as his present flesh has no sort of connection with his former one, he does not love those to whom he was related in his other lives. These affections are as much a part of the body as the hand or the eyesight; with one you put off the other.'

828 Thus all love, to the learned, even the purest affection of daughter to mother, of man to his friend, is in theory a function of the body—with the one we put off the other; and this may explain, perhaps, something of what my previous chapter did not make quite clear, that in the hereafter[1] of Buddhism there is no affection.

When we have put off all bodies, when we have

[1] The here fter = the state to which we attain when we have done with ea chly th ngs.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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attained Nirvana, love and hate, desire and repulsion, will have fallen from us for ever.

Meanwhile, in each life, we are obliged to endure the affections of the body into which we may be born. It is the first duty of a monk, of him who is trying to lead the purer life, to kill all these affections, or rather to blend them into one great compassion to all the world alike. 'Gayūna,' compassion, that is the only passion that will be left to us. So say the learned.

I met a little girl not long ago, a wee little maiden about seven years old, and she told me all about her former life when she was a man. Her name was Maung Mon, she said, and she used to work the dolls in a travelling marionette show. It was through her knowledge and partiality for marionettes that it was first suspected, her parents told me, whom she had been in her former life. She could even as a sucking-child manipulate the strings of a marionette-doll. But the actual discovery came when she was about four years old, and she recognized a certain marionette booth and dolls as her own. She knew all about them, knew the name of each doll, and even some of the words they used to say in the plays. 'I was married four times,' she told me. 'Two wives died, one I divorced; one was living when I died, and is living still. I loved her very much indeed. The one I divorced was a dreadful woman. See,' pointing to a scar on her shoulder, 'this was given me once in a quarrel. She took up a chopper and cut me like this. Then I divorced her. She had a dreadful temper.'

It was immensely quaint to hear this little thing

quiet), the time when the children become quiet, from 7 to 8, 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THAKKI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LOKLIN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. AYO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-HET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so.

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It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven again." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the nats. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently.

513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of home standard in Pathwe and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathwe home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathwe home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathwe home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period.

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Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,050 cubic feet in Pathwe, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However,

511 722 361 342

Zi: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* led him to something which approximates to the observance of the 'unities' of time and place as well as of action.

In the grouping of the characters, U Pon Nya shows his greatness as a dramatist, and gives an impression of beauty of form and completeness to the play. The first scene begins with the prince and the two water-sellers. The attention of the audience is drawn and concentrated on these three from the beginning. When their characters have been portrayed in part, other persons are introduced to the audience. But the attention of the audience is not allowed to waver from the three. Others are mere figures that serve as background. They are allowed to say so little that we can scarcely even call them minor characters. The three characters are well portrayed, the man water-seller the most fully of the three. He is the central figure, and on one side of him we have the king, admiring the water-seller, liking him; on the other side we have the woman, loving him. As a result the play gives the impression of a symmetrical structure, with the man as the centre, the king and the woman as wings, and other persons of the play as background. In the last scene also, U Pon Nya shows his mastery in grouping the figures on the stage to give an effect of beauty of structure. When the king and his followers arrive at the garden, the king and the crown prince occupy the centre of the stage, and we have the princess with the ladies on one side, and the courtiers on the other. When the climax of the play—the attempt of the prince on the life of the king—is reached, other figures are absent, because the attention of the audience has to be concentrated on the prince alone. When the climax is over, again two distinct groups of characters enter on different sides. At the end, the water-sellers leave on one side, and the king and the courtiers on the other, the centre of the stage being left empty.

536* 828 *Paduma* shows that U Pon Nya had not learnt to portray character. With regard to the princess in that play, he was trying to convince the audience that there was no logic or reason in a woman, and that she had no character as she was merely a creature of desire. Therefore he had no reason to dwell upon the princess but this very fact should have caused him to portray Paduma's character, which he failed to do. This seems to prove that he only learnt to portray character through the experience gained from his first play. In *The Water-seller*, he is a master of that art. He wants the audience to concentrate its interest on the man water-seller, but he sketches the other two in convincing detail. The king is a philosopher and sincere

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friend, and one can appreciate his treatment of the water-seller. He is a conscientious king, but his place is really the study, and he finds even one day of kingship tiresome. He would have liked the water-seller to share the responsibility of ruling the kingdom, but he could appreciate his desire to seek the peace of the forest. He is human in his attitude towards religion; he wishes to be a Buddha one day; he believes that the monastery alone can offer real peace; he finds his crown burdensome; and he admires the water-seller for being able to leave the luxuries of the palace for the simple life of a hermit; but he himself cannot leave his palace and power, for, being but an ordinary mortal, he loves comfort and wealth and power. The woman water-seller is an ordinary woman, honest, charming, lovable. She earns her living scrupulously; she is poor but honest. She appreciates the sterling qualities in the other water-seller, and falls in love with him. She trusts him, but womanlike, she wants the marriage to be celebrated according to convention. Luxury and power do not change her character. Politics do not interest her. A lovable woman as a water-seller, she remains lovable as a princess, and therefore the ladies at the court cry their hearts out when she leaves them, though they have served her but one afternoon. She is a woman above all, and she loves the man water-seller for himself alone; he may change his social status, he may be a water-seller, a prince, a monk, but he remains forever her man, and she will follow him everywhere. She has the utmost faith in him, and what he does is right to her. When he wishes to go to the forest, she does not persuade him to stay. Politics and religion and philosophy play a very small part in her life; she just follows the water-seller to the forest, because she loves him and cannot stay without him.

The portrayal of the man water-seller constitutes a real advance in Burmese drama. It is a study in character development. U Kyin U and his precursors had studied character, but in their works the character was fixed from the beginning to the end, and it did not develop before the eyes of the audience. We have seen how brilliantly Parpahein was portrayed by U Kyin U; but throughout, he remained the same Parpahein that we knew when the play began. The man water-seller is very poor, but his character is such that he can keep himself cheerful and quite contented. Honesty and buoyancy of temperament make him happy. His outlook as to wealth is very narrow; he has no other ambition but to earn a few coppers more. He cheerfully and frankly woos his bride. When

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536* 828 through good fortune he is given a princely sum of money, his regard for the silver halfpenny acquired through industry and thrift, and his love for the woman remain. In the hour of his acquisition of half the kingdom, he does not forget either his lover or his halfpenny. However, he soon loses his cheerfulness through having to fill his office with dignity and ability; the crown prince is no longer the laughing water-seller, indulging in mock-heroics, laughing unashamed at his own poverty. Wealth and power do not always make one happy and cheerful. To the previously contented water-seller ambition comes to disturb his peace of mind. He is next only to the king, but he wants to be king now—he, who was contented before with a half-penny hidden safely away. His greed and ambition tempt him, to kill his friend and king, who is responsible for making him the crown prince. Fortunately, his old sense of honesty and gratitude still remain. The good and evil in him fight, and U Pon Nya gives us a fine picture of the struggle in the mind of the water-seller. In the end, the good wins. If the character of a person is essentially good, in the end, in spite of all temptations, the good in him will carry him through, just as the water-seller's character finally triumphs over ambition and greed that result from wealth and power. The king offers him the whole kingdom, he has but to say 'yes', and from being the lowest in the country, he will become the highest. But he refuses the offer. He has tasted both poverty and wealth and in the end he chooses poverty—the poverty and peace of a hermit's life. He has the courage to act according to his convictions, and we can but respect and admire his final action.[1]

4. *Wizaya*

536* 779 [177] The story of this play is taken with slight modifications from a semi-religious work on the history of Buddhism in Ceylon, which is classed in the same category as a *Jataka*. In the original not only the history of Ceylon, but also some account of the history of the kingdom in India from which the island was colonized, was given. U Pon Nya, however, begins only at the point where the colonists leave their mother country, and ends his play at the point where a dynasty is assured to Ceylon.

536* The king is holding his court when he hears cries for help. On inquiry he learns that his elder son, Wizaya, has long been in the

[1] A translation of the play is given in appendix vi.

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ed by the attitude of non-Buddhists. Disputants are often at cross purposes. In frequent discussions I have therefore tried to understand how the argument appears to the Buddhist.

Humpty Dumpty, thinks the non-Buddhist, has had a great fall in Buddhist psychology. He cannot see how all the king's horses and all the king's men of Buddhism can possibly put Humpty together again, and, unless they can, he sees no ground for any view of Nibbāna which includes a prospect of individual survival. He cannot, indeed, see how the Buddhist can consistently speak of individuals at all or reconcile his theories with individual persistence, before or after death, still less with ethical individual responsibility.

The Buddhist, on the other hand, doubts if Humpty ever sat on the wall. It is evident, to his mind, that Humpty has always been what he evidently seems to be now: a mix of shell, white and yolk — and, if you analayse the mix further, something still more complex: an aggregate of aggregates. There is, he admits, an individual splash on the ground and it is convenient to give it a name. But apart from the shell, the white, the yolk, what other Humpty can there be? Why seek to put him on the wall? This, of course, is not the simile he uses. He generally quotes the chariot analogy — Nāgasena's argument to King Milinda — the word 'chariot' is but a term for pole, axle, wheels, chariot-body and banner-staff.[1]

But there is sometimes apparent another ground for Buddhist bewilderment. He wonders how his Western questioner can be so naive! What he has in mind is his own development from childish ideas, and the childish, animistic ideas of simple villagers who still think of the butterfly *(leip-byā)* which is thought to leave the body at death — and may even do so during deep sleep[2]. This presumably intelligent Westerner, talking about a soul, appears still to believe in some little mannikin, some semi-material kernel. How incredible! Does he not realise that human personality is much more complex than that?

There are, it is true, many simple Buddhists in Burma who have no such difficulty. Their allegiance to the An-attā doctrine is merely lip-allegiance. To them Maung Maung is Maung Maung. And he may be Maung Maung's grandfather come to re-birth. Expectant mother's discuss such possible re-births. One of these, a young widow, lived in hope that the child to be born would be her deceased husband. We need not attribute such ideas solely to the survival of animism. They are just as much encouraged by Jataka stories.

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In the Dialogue cited in chapter III, the argument for individual survival through the persistence of sound *khandhas* in the ultimate Nibbāna condition, *Anupādisesa*, is based on the distinction drawn between *upādi* and *upadhi*. The former, *upādi*, which is the term referred to in *Anupādisesa*, is derived from *upa* and the verb *ādiyati* – 'to be grasped.' Hence it is said to refer to the five khandhas *grasped at* by four *upādānas*. Buddha-

[1] Milindapañha. 25. 1 (Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 129ff.).
[2] Cf. Forbes, *British Burma*, chap. IV, p. 99.

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ghosa is quoted in support of this interpretation: "The *Anupādisesa* Nibbāna is so called because of the non-becoming of the five khandhas *which have been grasped at* as effects by the *kamma* attended by desire, pride and error." U. Agga in the Dialogue concludes that it is clear that this leaves it open to believe that sound *khandhas*, the fruitional consciousness of arahantship obtains, in the *Anupādisesa* Nibbāna as in the prior condition, *Sa-upādisesa*. "The orthodox view according to the *Dhammasangaṇi* is that the worldly mind and material body alone are *upādāniya* and the transcendent, spiritual consciousness which is beyond the reach of *upādānas* is *anupādāniya*."

'Yet ninety nine per cent of Burman Buddhists.. understand this word *upādi* to mean all kinds of *khandhas*.' He has previously suggested that this may be partly due to the fact that they confuse *upādi* with *upadhi*. Now upadhi is derived from *upa* and the root *dhā* – – – 'to bear, conduct or carry' and is thus applied to *khandhas* generally, besides corruptions, sensual desires and kamma. There are scriptural passages which speak of all *upadhis* being given up in Nibbāna, and a Brahmana who has attained Nibbāna is described as *nir-upadhi*.' It is argued, however, that these passages mean simply that such an arahant is released from *unsound khandhas* – – – not all.

In his accompanying Essay, Pe Maung Tin gives an interpretation which also, on the whole, favours individual survival. But he says nothing about *anupādisesa khandhas*. *An-upādisesa* means "nibbāna without any residue of *upādi's* at the death of the saint" whose "aggregates are dissolved" – – – but only his aggregates. There is no reference, therefore, to any annihilation of ultimate personality, and the Saṁyutta Nikāya says: "The saint on the dissolution of the body is established in the *dhamma* (dhammaṭṭho) and his personality is not counted as man, god, brahma or being" and the commentary explains dhammaṭṭho as meaning: "established in the nature of saints as well as in nibbāna itself." Pe Maung Tin emphasises the distinction between conditioned and unconditioned reality; he also emphasises that there is but one Nibbāna (*sa-upādisesa* and *an-upādisesa* being but a difference in name, as applied to different stages). He finally emphasises that 'no analysis will reveal the true nature of the Reality.' Knowledge can only be attained by intuition, and meantime can only be indicated in negative terms.